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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

869 The cry "*udŏdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
517 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
538 clamation "*udŏditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bási* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
[855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct
[602] instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
[855] purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. *The Moral Code*

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

"Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñol*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

[2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
577 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful
576 Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and
elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to
prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives
around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews,
nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what
you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens
upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your
elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already
a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my
baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two
almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer
any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took
away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of
his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still
a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly trans-
ferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave
us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still
young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and
again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost
submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking
everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them.
Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is
much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older
than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your
own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your
elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would
it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to
an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have
certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although
you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be
doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to
raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawlydin*, I go now (*mawlkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánadin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo?* (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to you though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 431 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obligatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

577 609

602 577 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomeration belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 577 [276] On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Government furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances?
Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kaddw*'s son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kaddw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kaddw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kaddw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rdy*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kaddw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kaddw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kaddw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
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"An Isneg boy must be active and diligent; no girl likes a lazy boy, and a wife will run away from her husband if he is a sluggard. Do your part of the ordinary work, as required by Isneg custom, and besides try to earn some money now and then in order to be able to buy garments for yourself, and a piece of cloth or a trinket for the girl you love or the wife you married. In this, however, you are not obliged to choose the hardest way: for instance, if you have a good amount of rice in your granary, you may have either two girls or your wife pound it, so that you can go to sell it to the Ibanag; that is an easy means of earning money. Do heavy work only when there is no other way out, but the work you have to do, attend to it and do it well; except of course when you have to work for wages somewhere for the Ibanag or when you have to furnish free labor to the Government. In such cases you must not unduly tire yourself; it will be time enough for you to move when they are coming to watch you. They will rarely fail to do so anyhow. So why should you make unnecessary exertions when unobserved? For the rest do not give your own people a pretext for calling you an idler. After all your duties are not so manifold; the greatest part of the year you have almost nothing to do except loiter around and amuse yourself. But then, you are men, and why should there be women in the world if they did not take the lion's share whenever there is question of routine work? The woman is the recognized breadwinner; a woman may practically rule the home, impose her will and dominate everything with her tongue, but the husband is the real king, his wife is his servant, she it iswho has to provide him with food. A woman will ever be inferior to a man in all respects: her duty is to work, his to exact service. It should never be said about an Isneg girl or wife that she is not active and industrious, no boy will marry a lazy girl, and a husband will divorce a slothful wife. The woman is made for work: when she comes home, after having passed the whole morning laboring in the field, she will have to cook her husband's food, feed the pigs, pound the rice, clean the house, and so on, even though her husband may have been doing nothing for the whole day: he is a man, that is his right. When still young, you of the female sex have your hours of leisure, you are allowed to play occasionally and to amuse yourself; but once you are married, you have to work, you will be a wife and a mother, and for this reason obliged to work for your husband and for your children, and to provide them with their livelihood"

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"As soon as an Isneg boy knows the meaning of shame, he should wear a G-string. From then on never go around stark naked, at least under ordinary circumstances. But if there is danger of your clothes getting wet, you can take them off of course: for instance, when mounting a raft, and sometimes also when riding a canoe, more especially when you have to tow the latter and enter the water at every turn, or when you have to cross rivers and brooks that are comparatively deep. You should not even take the trouble to put your G-string off and on at every step, provided of course you are alone or among your own people, and in the latter case provided you are circumcised, otherwise your companions would laugh at you. It is not shameful for a circumcised man to expose his genitalia and to walk along in a state of complete nudity, when there is a reason for doing so; nobody will be scandalized at that. Be very careful though never to appear naked when women may be espying you; there is no excuse for any man to expose his naked body to the gaze of women. That should be avoided by all means: would not these chatterboxes go around and tell everybody about it and make you the laughing stock of all the girls of the neighborhood?

"A girl should be modest. Do not fail to wear your G-string under your tapis as soon as you have attained a certain development: indeed, it might happen that your outer garment gets loose, and even in your ordinary movements it might sometimes be hard not to bare your body indecently, if no G-string is worn. A woman should always wear all her lower garments, except of course when she has to cross a deep stream or to take a bath, but then she should put them on again immediately afterwards. However, if men, her husband excepted, or strangers are around, she should prefer to wear wet clothes rather than take them off even for a single moment. Grown-up girls should always wear their jacket; they should never expose their breasts to the gaze of anybody. If you are a married woman, you need not be so meticulous; but cover yourself though when leaving the house, at least when strangers are around. Exposing the breasts from under the jacket is always allowed when giving a baby the breast; nor is it usually shameful to leave the breasts partially uncovered, when you are carrying a child or when a little one is otherwise present. Take this as a rule: except in the case of water sports and so on, and in the exclusive presence of persons of your own sex, never expose your genitalia, and, if you are as yet unmarried, your breasts. For the rest, you need not be very

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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pañńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *awát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbôl* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

[177] [833]

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

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Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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577 possession. he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves,
685 are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
683 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act other-
574 wise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is
usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick
to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you
201 ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully
indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the
direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at
least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under
this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least
according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but
577 you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed.
A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in
its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit.
So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent.
When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance,
when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any
person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never
allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care
about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing
they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether
you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done
by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether
there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his
672 kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions,
and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of
the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran
toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have
lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left
his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaś*).

"A certain amount of *básí* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

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577 574 261 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is contemned by everybody; never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not to eat to excess.

577 626 521 152 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to confess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case, just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you? "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community: most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men, and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions, except on the occasion of a *sây-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to be called *mukiddyaw* (proud) or *napañláw* (braggart); so never give occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head. [578]

"Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. Motives Proposed to Young

000 Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religious, magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from supernatural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

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867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
178 however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special
offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is
exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the
law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk
and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of
old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether
small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in
which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of
coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown
entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the back-
ground.

578 *Nevertheless* when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter
183 amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being
shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice.
Anayalukkáp (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of
your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an in-
fallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter
definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make
him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will
prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatód*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to
translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no
term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
574 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers
and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra.
577 We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into
Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Fore-
seeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey,
the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on
Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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rice, or if they so preferred, to give it to us with the condition that a similar amount would be given back to them on our return a few days later. The Anayan men denied, however, that they had any rice at all, and even after the soldiers had made our identity known to them, they still persevered in their denial and evidently were lying to us, as several receptacles, in the house of one of them, were found by the soldiers to be full of the requested cereal. This looked to everybody like a tremendous breach of hospitality and an enormous lack of generosity and gratitude, since the Anayan people are practically fed by Apayaw, the more so that on the next day we would have to do without our midday meal, after a march of six hours climbing and descending precipitous mountain sides, completely devoid of all vegetation, with a tropical sun burning over our heads.

Now let us look at this case the other way. At first all of us were complete strangers to the Anayan people (the captain did not wear any of the insignia of his rank); they were Isneg, we were Ibanag: and the latter are not renowned for honesty when dealing with the Isneg. What the Anayan people undoubtedly were thinking about the whole affair was something like this: "They will take our rice and say good-bye, and we shall never see them again", which would indeed very often have been the case under similar circumstances. Add to this that Anayan is a barren country; the people have to get their rice from Dagara, in Apayaw, at the cost of almost superhuman exertions: indeed they have to carry pitch pine and some other heavy commodities of little value over a long and hard mountain path, in order to trade them for that all-important cereal; consequently they rightly believe that rice is not something to be left at the mercy of the first adventurer who happens to come along.

But then, it may be asked, why did they persevere in their denial, even after they had learned about our identity, the more so that they also must have heard about the soldiers' detective work? Well, for no other reason than that they were ashamed: they were ashamed to acknowledge that they had told us a lie. And that this shame was a real excuse for them was afterwards acknowledged even by my companions. If it had been possible for them to find the means of presenting us with rice, without having to admit the deception they had been practising, for instance by going to borrow it from a neighboring settlement, they would most probably have done so. Shame is worse than anything to our people, as everybody here knows by practical experience. And so, after all, the Anayan Isneg did not

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183 act against their own code: they had no duty of hospitality, generosity
574 or gratitude toward the Ibanag; they lied, because to tell the truth
152 would have redounded to their disadvantage, nay, to exceeding hardship, which they were completely right, at least in their own eyes,
577 to try to avoid by all possible means; they were excused from acknowledging their deception, even after it had become patent and after they had learned about the identity of their visitors, on account of the shame which such an acknowledgment would have entailed.

171 This proves that it is sometimes very hard to understand the native's
577 position, and that one has to be careful not to judge him rashly. His code is occasionally very different from ours; and so both his and
181 our point of view, although entirely opposite one to the other, may sometimes be perfectly consistent. In the whole statement of this case and in its explanation, I have not been trying to propound theories; I have merely stated the facts and told the truth as it is, not theoretically, but practically.

461 Isneg teaching with reference to diligence and love of work is
183 usually accepted in its completeness by the fair sex. One meets with few downright lazy women in all Apayaw. But the males? As long as they are children, all right, the parents are there to look after that; but once they have grown up, especially once they are married, I think that even the few duties imposed upon them by their own code, are not always and universally complied with. The tropical climate, prevalent malarial fevers, usual years of plenty, a most fertile soil, forests abounding with deer, wild boars, bees, etc., besides timber, rattan, edible fruits, and other vegetable products, the lack of means of transportation, and so on, are not exactly inducements toward activity and industriousness. Nevertheless the duties are, I repeat it, so few, that it would be dangerous to qualify too great a number of
[171] men as transgressors of their own rules. Isneg adult men are usually lazy, it is undeniable, but they appear so more especially when we compare their behavior with that of other inhabitants of the Mountain Province, who are either living in densely populated areas or leading a precarious existence among rocks and cliffs. And so, even in this, Isneg teaching might perhaps be said to be fairly successful.

[152] The apathetic character of the generality of the Isneg renders compliance with several points of their moral code comparatively
183 easy; and so fits of anger and of jealousy, and boasting are not very
577 common. Talking about other people's defects in their absence is almost as common among the Isneg as among other races: it breaks
626

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-im* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuriro-*, *kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use for adults.

And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
867 little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
858 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
183 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years old; he said he wanted "to try".

836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
183 and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldallów* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabbdl* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
183 deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceedingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure
867 me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over Apayaw.

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vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammán* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connection, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were carefully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

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my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw nāyá áto* (the dog ate them)". Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question. No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy.

Lullupitan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning.

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

181 or, if they
152 acquire money unfairly and buy rice with it, the rice,
157 when eaten, will give them no strength. As born psy-
[577 chologists, they enjoy working on you so that you will
827] think and act as they desire. They like a practical
[522] joke even when it is on themselves. In fact, even accidents are taken as jokes and the one who has been injured is the one who laughs the hardest. When going through hardship, they show real endurance. Their code is to laugh and joke near the end just as if they had only awakened from a good sleep.

181 The Apayaos are courageous and lovers of free-
175 dom. The Spaniards never did conquer them, and even we Americans had a difficult time establishing our benevolent government. It was necessary to continue the military control for many years; and only in 1923 was civil government established. During the first part of the Japanese occupation, Apayao was a place of refuge for fleeing Americans and, after the fall of Corregidor, Cabugao was made the headquarters of the USAFFE of Northern Luzon. The Japanese did not establish themselves here in these mountain fastnesses until March, 1943. They did not find the people at all willing to collaborate and left in August, 1944. When the Americans returned, the Apayaos volunteered, almost to a man, to assist in defeating the Japanese. Many acted as "bolo men" without pay, and served as cargados, messengers and laborers. Thus they neglected even their farming, so that this year their crops are small.

101 These people call themselves *Isnegs* and are so known by the neighboring *Ibanags*, whose language is related to theirs. Probably they are called Apa-

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. Thes brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one